south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, To the and fisher- 361
men have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, 621
land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts 363
the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil (rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along 273
the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house 366
where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel 368
and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man 362
in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol. 245

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality. 273 434 443 245 [65]

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueta, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete, 273 [178] 245 177 174 177 245 273

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the manangguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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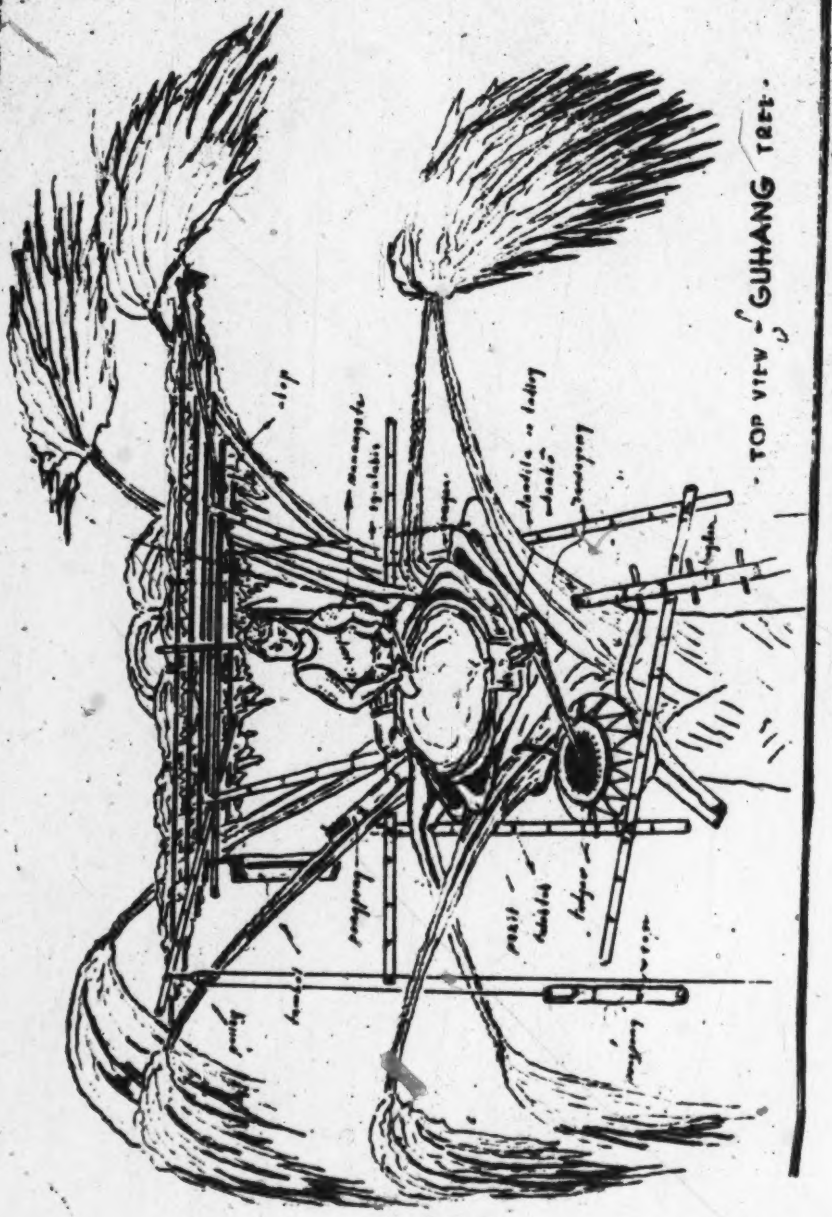
Once the tree has been chosen the manangguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

PLATE XVIII



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p. 378

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After the prescribed period has lapsed, the mansanguete or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo moguat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

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"Envious persons" may also spoil the sap's flavor or kill the buri by driving a fish bone into the trunk, striking the trunk with the barbed tail of the pag-i (ray fish), or smashing a seaworm (bahagbahag) against the palm. Others say a guhang-producing buri can be damaged by flashing a light across the tree and a rotten egg thrown against the palm makes the sap malodorous.

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[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. 245
Each mananguete, however, seems to improvise. Certain 273
items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened 824
bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spiciflorum 825
Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the 751
individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability.
I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi
item but the explanation given in some cases was only
"it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX
summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri
lihi.

TABLE XX

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

Items Used in Lihi	Purposes	
1. Guhang vinegar	1. To give the guhang a strong taste	
2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste	2. To give the guhang a strong taste	
3. Bark and roots of badbad tree	3. Protection against "envious persons"	754
4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva").	4. To keep the buri sap flowing	
5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm)	5. Protection against "envious persons"	754
6. Roots of uli-an vine(uli-an means "bring back").	6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap.	
7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home").	7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons."	754

TABLE XX (Continued)

8. Barb of ray fish (pag-i)	8. Protection against "envious persons"
9. Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo	9. Protection against "envious persons"
10. Discarded flashlight bulb or battery	10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery.
11. Red peppers	11. To improve the taste of the guhang
12. Gunpowder	12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan.
13. Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol)	13. To improve the taste of the guhang
14. Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk	14. Protection against "envious persons"
15. Salt	15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap
16. Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken	16. Protection against "envious persons"
17. Chicken feathers of any color	17. Reason or purpose unknown
18. Bark of the kalingay tree	18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea.
19. Kolino roots	19. Protection against "envious persons"
20. Tengo sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barrio-folk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark.	20. Protection against "envious persons"

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TABLE XX (Continued)

21. Kalamongay stems ("kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time")	21. To keep the sap flowing
22. Lead from a bullet	22. Protection against "envious persons"
23. Paniawan vine	23. Protection against "envious persons"

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The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a mananguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a manangguete ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabis and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

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Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 350ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all manangueteg agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cabo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

used to make charcoal for the woman's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Caticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to zuhang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and zuhang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) of the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making tuba~~ reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841